OBSERVATIONS
BOTH
Historical and Moral
UPON THE
BURNING
OF
LONDON,
September 1666.

With an Account of the Losses.

And a most remarkable Parallel between *LONDON* and *MOSCO*, both as to the PLAGUE and FIRE.

Also an Essay touching the Easterly-Winds.

VVritten by way of Narrative, for satisfaction of the present and future Ages.

By *Rege Sincera.*

LONDON Printed by *Thomas Ratcliffe*, and are to be sold by *Robert Pawlet* at the *Bible* in *Chancery-lane*. 1667.

OBSERVATIONS

OF

A

To his much honored and respected Friend

JOHN BULLER Esq;

A Worthy Member of the Honorable House of COMMONS.

SIR,

THis little Treatise having lyen dormant in a corner of my Desk ever since his Birth, (which was three weeks after the Fire) hath got at last so much strength as to walk abroad. The reason of his long repose was, that I expected when some more pregnant Wit and better Pen would have undertaken this Taske, which is

altogether out of my Profession and Employment: But finding that hitherto all that hath been written concerning it, as to the Narrative of its beginning, progress and ending, hath been thought defective, I have given it leave to shew it self abroad, with Observations thereon, under Your Honorable Name, as well to avoid the malignancy of Censure, as to testifie unto the World how much I am

Your humble and affectionate Servant,

Rege Sincera.

Obser-

Observations and Reflections, both Historical and Moral, upon the last lamentable FIRE *that happened in the famous* CITY *of* LONDON, *the Second Day of* September, Anno 1666.

BEfore we proceed any further in the examination of so lamentable and dismal a Subject, we have thought fitting, for the curiosity of those that shall read these Lines, and for the satisfaction of Posterity, in whose hands it may chance to come, to sett down the true and naked Narrative of the Fact as it did happen, and as it hath been printed by the consent of His Majesty, and of the Publick Authority, that the Reader being made cer-

tain of the truth of the Accident, may the more willingly proceed to the Examination of those Observations we have made upon it.

Whitehall, *September* 8.

ON the Second instant, at one of the Clock in the morning, there happened to break out a sad and deplorable Fire in *Pudding-lane* near *New-Fish-street*; which falling out at that hour of the night, and in a quarter of the Town (so close built with Wooden pitched Houses,) spread it self so far before day, and with such distraction to the Inhabitants and Neighbours, that care was not taken for the timely preventing the further diffusion of it, by pulling down Houses, as it ought to have been; so that this lamentable Fire in a short time became too bigg to be mastered by any Engines, or working near it. It fell out most unhappily too, that a violent Easterly winde fomented it, and kept it burning all that day, and the night following spread it self up to *Grace-church-street*, and downwards from *Canon-street* to the Waterside, as far as the *Three Cranes* in the *Vintry*.

The People in all parts about it, distracted by the vastness of it, and their particular care to carry away their Goods, many attempts were made to pre-

vent

vent the ſpreading of it, by pulling down Houſes, and making great Intervals, but all in vain, the Fire ſeiſing upon the Timber and Rubbiſh, and ſo continuing it ſelf even through thoſe ſpaces, and raging in a bright flame all Monday and Tueſday, notwithſtanding His Majeſties own, and his Royal Highneſs indefatigable and perſonal pains to apply all poſſible remedies to prevent it, calling upon and helping the People with their Guards, and a great number of Nobility and Gentry unweariedly aſſiſting therein, for which they were requited with a thouſand bleſſings from the poor diſtreſſed People. By the favour of God the winde ſlackned a little on Tueſday night, and the Flames meeting with Brick-buildings at the *Temple*, by little and little it was obſerved to loſe its force on that ſide, ſo that on Wedneſday morning we began to hope well, and his Royal Highneſs never deſpairing, or ſlacking his perſonal care, wrought ſo well that day, aſſiſted in ſome parts by the Lords of the Council before and behind it, that a ſtop was put to it at the *Temple-church*, near *Holborn-bridge*, *Pye-corner*, *Aldersgate*, *Cripple-gate*, near the lower end of *Coleman-ſtreet*, at the end of *Baſinghall-ſtreet*, by the *Poſtern*, at the upper end of *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet*, and *Leadenhall-ſtreet*, at the *Standard* in *Cornhill*, at the Church in *Fanchurch-ſtreet*, near *Clothworkers-hall* in *Mincing-lane*, at the middle of *Mark-lane*, and at the *Tower-Dock*.

On Thurſday, by the bleſſing of God, it was wholly

ly beat down and extinguished, but so as that Evening it unhappily broke out again at the *Temple*, by the falling of some sparks (as is supposed) upon a pile of Wooden buildings, but His Royal Highness, who watched there that whole night in person, by the great labours and diligence used, and especially by their applying powder to blow up the Houses about it, before day most happily mastered it.

Divers Strangers, *Dutch* and *French*, were during the Fire apprehended, upon suspition that they contributed most mischievously to it, who were all imprisoned, and informations prepared to make a severe inquisition thereupon by my Lord Chief Justice *Keeling*, assisted by some of the Lords of the Privy-Council, and some principal Members of the City; notwithstanding which suspicions, the manner of the burning all along in a train, and so blown forwards in all its way by strong windes, make us conclude the Whole was an effect of an unhappy Chance, or to speak better, the heavy hand of God upon us for our Sinnes, shewing us the terror of his Judgements in thus raising the Fire, and immediately after his miraculous, and never enough to be acknowledged mercy, in putting a stop to it when we were in the last despair, and that all attempts for the quenching it, however industriously pursued, seemed insufficient. His Majesty then sate hourly in Councel, and in his own person making rounds about the City, in all parts of it

where the danger and miſchief was greateſt, till next morning; that he hath ſent his Grace the Duke of *Arlemarle*, whom he called from Sea to aſſiſt him in this great occaſion, to put his happy and ſucceſſull hand to the finiſhing of this memorable Deliverance.

About the *Tower* the ſeaſonable Orders given for plucking down Houſes to ſecure the Magazins of Powder was more eſpecially ſucceſsfull, that part being up the winde; notwithſtanding which, it came almoſt to the very Gates of it, ſo as by this early proviſion the ſeveral Stores of Warr lodged in the *Tower* were entirely ſaved; and we have further this infinite cauſe, particularly to give God thanks, that the Fire did not happen in any of thoſe places where his Majeſties Naval-ſtores are kept; ſo though it hath pleaſed God to viſit us with his own hand, he hath not by diſ-furniſhing us with the means of carrying on the Warr, ſubjected us unto all our Enemies.

Through this ſad accident it is eaſie to be imagined, how many Perſons were neceſſitated to remove themſelves and Goods into the open Fields, where they were forced to continue ſome time, which could not but work compaſſion in the Beholders. But His Majeſties care was moſt ſignal in this occaſion, who, beſides his perſonal pains, was frequent in conſulting alwayes for relieving thoſe diſtreſſed perſons; which produced ſo good effect, as well by His Majeſties Proclamations, and the Orders iſſued

to

to the Neighbours Justices of Peace, to encourage the sending in of Provision to the Markets, which are publickly known, as by other directions, that when His Majesty fearing lest other Orders might not yet have been sufficient, had commanded the Victualer of his Navy to send Bread into *Moorfields* for relief of the Poor, which for the more speedy supply he sent in Baskets out of the Sea-stores, it was found that the Markets had been already so well supplyed, that the People being unaccustomed to that kinde of Bread, declined it, and so it was returned in great part to His Majesties Stores again, without any use made of it.

And we cannot but observe, to the confutation of all His Majesties Enemies, who endeavour to perswade the World abroad of great Parties and Disaffection at home against his Majesties Government, that a greater instance of the affection of this City could never be given, than hath been now given in this sad and deplorable accident, when if at any time, disorder might have been expected from the losses, distraction, and almost desperation of some Persons in their private Fortunes, thousands of people not having to cover them. And yet in all this time, it hath been so farr from any appearance of Designes or Attempts against His Majesties Government, His Majesty and His Royal Brother out of their care to stop and prevent the Fire, frequently exposing their Persons with very small Attendants in all parts of the Town, sometimes even to be intermixed with

those

those who laboured in the Business, yet nevertheless there hath not been observed so much as a murmuring word to fall from any; but on the contrary, even those Persons whose Losses rendred their Condition most desperate, and to be fit objects of their Prayers, beholding those frequent instances of His Majesties care of His People, forgot their own misery, and filled the Streets with their Prayers for His Majesty, whose Trouble they seemed to compassionate before their own.

Observations.

THe Philoſophers, Rhetoricians and Lawyers do agree, that all the circumſtances of a fact, are happily contained in a *Latine* Verſe framed for that purpoſe, as well to illuſtrate the Method, which is the life of Hiſtory, as to help the Memory, which is to reap the benefit of it: the Verſe runneth thus;

Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando?
Who hath done it, what hath he done,
Where, by what means, wherefore, how, when?

Although theſe Disjunctives ſeem at firſt ſight to carry no great ſence, nevertheleſs when they ſhall be throughly examined it will be found, that they do contain all what can be ſaid upon a ſubject, and that out of them as out of ſo many living ſprings may be drawn all what is neceſſary for the clearing of a propounded Queſtion; and we will not be aſhamed in this to follow the method of the Schools and the authority of the learned, knowing that whatſoever fault ſhall be found in't, will rather be imputed to our incapacity then to the foundation we have built upon. Therefore to begin.

Quis?

Quis?

Who hath done it?

SECT. I.

FOR the clearing of the darkneſs wherein the humane underſtanding is naturally wrapt up in diſtinguiſhing the ſeveral accidents and events that happen dayly in this ſublunary World. The Philoſophers have eſtabliſhing two principal cauſes, whereunto every one may have his recourſe for his ſatisfaction and the ſecuring of himſelf, that nothing happeneth by chance, which is the opinion of deſperate and Atheiſtical perſons. The firſt and univerſal cauſe is God Almighty, who as he alone hath created the World, ſo hath he alſo reſerved to himſelf alone the government thereof, inſomuch that the leaſt accidents that befall, depend meerly from his providence, neither is there any thing hidden to him with whom we have to do; it is he without whoſe leave and knowledge not a hair falleth from our heads, and who telleth us by his Prophet that *There is no evil in the City but he hath done it.* This is that firſt Cauſe which ought to captivate our underſtandings under its will, to make us admit all Events with an equal mind, and ſubmit our patience to his diſpenſations, ſaying with *David*, *I did hold my peace becauſe thou didſt it*, Pſal. 50. verſ. 21. The other Cauſes are called Second cauſes, becauſe moſt commonly God maketh uſe of them for the

accomplishing of his will, and these are divided into as many branches as there are individual creatures in the World. By these a man liveth, being begotten by the seed of his parents; dieth being suffocated, falleth being drunk, is drowned in making shipwrack, &c. Where it is to be observed that several second Causes may concurr together to the production of one and the same effect; as in this sad and lamentable Accident we see the carelesness of a *Baker*, the solitariness and darkness of the Night, the disposition of old and ruinous Buildings, the narrowness of the Streets, the abundance of combustible and Bituminous matter, the foregoing Summer extraordinary hot and dry, a violent Eastern Wind, and the want of Engines and Water, concurr as it were unanimously to the production of this wonderfull Conflagration, and to do in four dayes what four Armies of Enemies (not opposed) could scarce have done in eight. The Astrologers, whose science is as abstruse as uncertain, would fain introduce another cause between the first and the second, to wit, the position and influence of the Coelestial bodies; but this accident will contribute much to stop their mouthes: for either they could not foresee it, or else having foreseen it, they should have given us precaution of it, as they do of many other more frivolous things, and of less consequence then this; and which are never true but by a supposition that if they doe not happen in our Country, they may

Let us therefore conclude, that the two Cauſes above mentioned, that is, firſt and ſecond, are ſufficient to move us to humble our ſelves in the ſight of God, who having the year before deſtroyed in the ſpace of Six moneths about an Hundred thouſand people; and ſeeing our impenitent hearts and ſeared conſciences return again to our firſt vomiting, of Pride, Drunkenneſs, Swearing, Falſe dealings, Whoring, Treachery, and other vices; after he hath taken away the health of ſome, he taketh away the wealth of others, and threatneth the reſt with an impendent Famine by the laſt exceſſive Rains he did ſend, and may ſend again in this Sowing-time; and it will avail nothing here to ſay, as I have heard many, that other Countries, as *France* and *Italy* are guilty of as many if not greater Crimes then we are, ſeeing that God chaſtiſeth every ſon he loveth, and that he beginneth his Judgements by his own houſhold, and this Nation having received more proſperities and bleſſings from his hands then any other, and accordingly more peculiarly bound to ſerve and obey him then all the reſt, whom he will find well enough when he ſeeth his due appointed time: *For that ſervant that knew his lords will and prepared not himſelf, neither did according to his will, ſhall be beaten with many ſtripes; but he that knew not and did commit things worthy of ſtripes, ſhall be beaten with few ſtripes: For unto whom much is given, of him ſhall be much required, and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more.* Luke, ch. 12. v. 47, 48.

Quid?

What hath he done?

SECT. II.

THE Answer is easie. An Incendie, a Conflagration, a Ruine and devastation by Fire, such (as I believe) did never happen by any natural and ordinary means, for that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* was supernatural and miraculous, the like being never heard before nor after, that it should rain Fire and Brimstone suddenly, and in such a quantity in fair weather, for the Scripture mentioneth that the Sun was risen upon the Earth, besides, that instead of calcining the said Towns into powder, as Fire and Brimstone will do all solid bodies, it not onely turned them, but also the ground on which they stood into a bottomless bituminous Lake, which to this day remaineth before our eyes for a fearfull Example of the hainousness of Sinne, and of the severity of God's Justice. Concerning the conflagration of *Troy*, and that of *Rome*: The first may be fabulous, or exagerated by the familiar Hyperboles of Poets to whose relation chiefly we owe our belief in that point. As for that of *Rome* it is to be believed, that those heaps of Stones and Marbles of which she was then builded, gave a great check, if not a stop to the raging of the Fire, and stood in the

way

way of the Tyrants pleasure. Concerning others, as that of (a) *Constantinople*, (b) *Cracow*, (c) *Venice*, (d) *Vienna* in *Austria*, (e) *Delf* in *Holland*, (f) *Malines* and *Antwerp*, they came nothing near this which in three dayes and three nights of about 460 acres of Ground upon which the City of *London* stood, hath swept away about 350, which is at the rate of four parts in five, having destroyed about 12000 Houses, 87 Parochial Churches, besides 6 or 7 consecrated Chappels, and the magnificent and stately Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, the publick and most excellent buildings of the *Exchange*, *Guildhall*, *Custom-house*, and all or very near the Halls belonging to every private Company, besides an innumerable quantity of Goods of all sorts, this City being the best Magazin not onely of *England*, but also of all *Europe*; but amongst the rest it was a Treasure unspeakable of four Commodities, which for their luggage and cumbersomness, could not be rescued from the jaws of that unmercifull Element, that is Wine, Tobacco, Spices and Books. As for Books, the Booksellers who dwelled for the most part round about the Cathedral Church, had sheltered their Books in a subterraneal Church under the Cathedral, called St. *Faiths*, which was proped up with so strong an Arch and massy Pillars, that it seemed impossible the Fire could do any harm to it; but the Fire having crept into it through the Windows,

a *Turkish History*.
b *M. Crown*.
c *Paulus Jovius* 12 *Book*.
d *Cusomion in vita Imp.*
e *Ad Junius*.
f *Guicciard* 12 *Book*.

Windows, it feized upon the Pews, and did fo try and examine the Arch and Pillars by ſucking the moyſture of the mortar that bound the Stones together, that it was calcined into Sand: So that when the top of the Cathedral fell upon it, it beat it flat, and ſet all things in an irremediable flame. I have heard ſuſpicious men of that Trade affirm, that the onely loſſe of Books in that place, and *Stationers-hall*, publick Libraries, and private perſons Houſes, could amount to no leſs than 150000 pound. I have ſeen Bells, and Iron Wares melted, Glaſs and Earther pots melted together, as it had been by a fire of fuſion, the moſt bigg and ſolid Stones (as thole of the Cathedral) flit, ſcaled, and in ſome parts calcined to powder by the violence of the flames. Nevertheleſs as Gods mercy is above all his works, and remembreth it always amongſt his judgements, I could not learn of above half a dozen People that did periſh by that wofull Conflagration; one of them was of my Acquaintance, and a Watch-maker living in *Shoe-lane* behinde the Globe Tavern, his name was *Paul Lawit*, born in *Strasbourg*, who being about 80 years of age, and dull of hearing, was alſo deaf to the good admonitions of his Sonne and Friends, and would never delert the Houſe till it fell upon him, and ſunk him with the ruines in the Cellar, where afterwards his Bones, together with his Keys, were found.

Although

Although the loss of so famous a CITY, and of the Riches contained within its Precinct be inestimable, nevertheless to satisfie the curiosity of the Reader, and that of Posterity, as also to give some light unto those, who with a more mature deliberation, shall attempt the full History of it; we will set down the chiefest Heads by which it is valued, leaving the liberty to the judicious Reader to adde to or substract from as he shall think fit; for we do not pretend here to give an exact account of all the Losses, which we hope some better Witts, and that are more at leasure, will undertake hereafter, But onely to invite them by this to a more curious and earnest enquiry of the Truth, and so transmit to Posterity a fearfull Example of God's Judgement, that they may in avoiding Sinne, also avoid the like, to the glory and prayse of his most holy Name.

Let it therefore be said again, that by the computation of the best Geometricians, the City of *LONDON* within the Walls was seated upon about 460 Acres of Ground, wherein were built about 13000 Houses, besides Churches, Chappels, Schools, Halls, and publick Buildings; out of this quantity of Houses 12000 are thought to be burnt, which is four parts of five, each House being valued one with another at Twenty five pound a years Rent, which at Twelve years Purchase maketh Three hundred pounds, the whole amount of

Fourscore and seven Parochial Churches, besides that of St. *Pauls* the Cathedral; and six consecrated Chappels, the *Exchange*, *Guildhall*, *Custome-house*, the Halls of Companies, and other Publick Buildings, amounting to half as much ———	1800000 *l.*
The Goods that every Private man lost one with another, valued at half the value of the Houses ———	1800000 *l.*
About 20 Wharfes of Coals and Wood, valued at a 1000 *l.* a piece ———	20000 *l.*
About 100000 Boats and Barges, 1000 Cart-loads, with Porters to remove the Goods to and fro, as well for the Houses that were a burning, as for those that stood in fear of it, at 20 shillings a Load ———	150000 *l.*
Summe	7335000 *l.*

This being reduced to the Account of *French*-Money, taking one pound Sterling for 13 Livers, amounteth to 10569675000 Livers.

Now

Now O *London*! it may well be ſaid of thee, *How doth the city ſit ſolitary that was full of people, how is ſhe become widow, ſhe that was great among the Nations, and Princeſs among the Provinces?* Jerem. Lam. chap. 1. 1. But courage O thou that art now my Countrey, thou art fallen into the hands of God and not of men; he that chaſtiſeth thee is thy Father, and if he hath a rod to puniſh thee, he hath alſo a ſtaff to comfort thee, turn to him and he will turn to thee, for he is a merciful, long-ſuffering, not willing that any ſhould periſh, but that all ſhould come to repentance, therefore be not overwhelmed with ſorrow, no thing hath befallen thee, but hath happened to others before thee; and if it be true that the likeneſs and participation of afflictions doth mitigate the ſenſe of them, that I may ſomething allay thy preſent ſorrow, I will relate thee a ſtory that hath much parallel with thine, to ſhew thou haſt not been the onely miſerable: It is a true one, written and teſtified by an Honourable *Dutch* Merchant who was an eye witneſs to it; and although it hath been once printed, yet becauſe the Book is ſcarce, and the Language forrain, I thought thou wouldſt not take it ill if I ſhould impart it unto thee.

Moſcow the chief City of all the Countreys of the Emperour of *Ruſsia*, is a very great City, but not well compacted, it hath in compaſs with the Suburbs, well inhabited, and as full of people as the Town, about three *German* leagues and a half, which maketh about 14 *Engliſh* miles; the compaſs of the

Town within the walls is about three *Engliſh* miles; the ſtreets and path ways are of great trees ſet cloſe together, and ſome boards by the houſes ſide; and it is ſo dirty in rainy weather, that it is impoſſible to go thorow the City otherwiſe then on horſe-back; according to the cuſtom of the Countrey where horſes are of ſmall value, and of little expence, never being ſhod for any journey whatſoever, unleſs it be during the Ice. The houſes are but one ſtory high, or two at the moſt, all built with wood ſet up at the top one of another; there is in the City, Suburbs and Caſtel about 5500 Churches, built for the moſt part like Chappels, moſt of them, with great trees ſet one upon another; The great Dukes Lodging is alſo built of wood, which he thinketh wholſomer then ſtone; the Caſtle is pretty well fortified with walls and broad ditches; it occupieth as much room as all the reſt of the City. On one ſide of it dwells the *Sins*, on the other the *Optiſins*, who are as the Treaſurers of the Great Duk, in whoſe hands (as ſoon as you come) you muſt put in all your Merchandiſes; Being departed from *Nerva* about the tenth of *July* 1570. we came on the beginning of *Auguſt* to *Moſcow*, where I found the Great Duke and his Officers buſie in ſeeking out about 30 perſons, who fell all under the ſword of the Hangman, except one who was caſt alive in boiling water, and this becauſe they had taken Bribes, moſt of them were great Lords, and Familiars with the Great Duke, others were Merchants of *Novogard*, with their Wives

This Great Duke was John Baſilides *the famous Tyrant.*

Wives Children and Families, accuſed of Treaſon in the behalf of the King of *Poland*. Few days after, a horrid Plague invaded the town of *Moſcow*, and the places about it, with ſuch violence, that in four months there died above 250000 people, and it was particularly obſerved that in eight days, that is, from the tenth to the eighteenth of *Auguſt*, there died 2703 Prieſts, and this Plague did continue ſo fiercely, that in the end of it, every one wondered when he met any body of his acquaintance.

This extraordinary miſery was followed the year after on the fifteenth of *May*, by a ſtrange ruine and conflagration; the occaſion was, that the Emperour of the *Tartarians*, being diſcontented that the *Ruſſians* did not pay him ſome annual Tribute, and hearing beſides that the Great Duke by his tyranny and maſſacres had ſo depopulated the Countrey, that he ſhould find no great reſiſtance that way, did ſummon him to pay the ſaid Tribute, but the Great Duke returned nothing in anſwer but ſpightful and reproachful words; wherefore the *Tartarian* came out of his Countrey about the end of *February*, followed with an Army of 100000 horſe, who within the ſpace of two moneths and a half did ride about 500 *German* leagues which makes 2000 *Engliſt* miles; when they were come about two days journey from the frontiers of the Duke, he reſolved to meet them and to give them battle, but he loſt it with a prodigious ſlaughter of his men; The Duke knowing that the *Tartarian* would ſeek

him out, ran away as fast and as far as he could; he was only within nine leagues of *Moscow*, when the *Tartarians* came and encompassed the Town, thinking he was within, they set a fire all the Villages round about it, and seeing that the war would prove too tedious for them, resolved to burn that great City, or at least the Suburbs of it; for this purpose having placed their Troops round about it, they set fire on all sides, so that it seemed a burning Globe; then did arise so fierce and violent a wind, that it drove the Rafters and long Trees from the Suburbs into the City; the conflagration was so suddain that no body had time to save himself but in that place where he was then; the persons that were burnt in this fire were above 200000. which did happen, because the houses are all of wood, and the streets paved with great Firr-trees set close together, which being Oily and Rosinous made the incendie unexpressible, so that in four hours time, the City and Suburbs were wholly consumed. I and a young man of *Rochel* that was my Interpreter, were in the middle of the Fire, in a Magazine vaulted with stone, and extraordinarily strong, whose wall was three foot and a half thick, and had no Air but on two sides, one wherein was the coming in and going out, which was a long Alley, in which there was three iron Gates, distant about six foot one from another; on the other side there was a Window or Grate, fenced with three iron shutters, distant half a foot one from another, we shut them inwardly

inwardly as well as possibly we could; nevertheless, there came in so much smoak, that it was more then sufficient to choak us, had it not been for some Beer that was there, with the which we refreshed our selves now and then. Many Lords and Gentlemen were stifled in the Caves where they had retired, because their houses being made of great trees, when they fell they crushed down all that was underneath; others being consumed to ashes, stopt all the passages of going and coming out, so that for want of Air they all perished. The poor Countrey people that had saved themselves in the City, with their Cattel from Threescore miles round about, seeing the conflagration, ran all into the Market-place, which is not paved of wood as the rest; nevertheless they were all rosted there, in such sort that the tallest man seemed but a child, so much had the fire contracted their Limbs, and this by reason of the great houses that were round about; a thing more hideous and frightful then any can imagine. In many places of the said Market, the bodies were piled one upon another to the heighth of half a pike, which put me into a wonderful admiration, being not able to apprehend nor understand, how it was possible they should be so heaped together.

This wonderful conflagration caused all the Fortifications of the Town wall to fall, and all the Ordnance that were upon it to burst. The walls were made of Brick, according to the ancient way of building,

less

without either Fortifications or Ditches; many that had ſaved themſelves along them, were nevertheleſs roſted, ſo fierce and vehement was the fire, among them many *Italians* and *Walloons* of my acquaintance; while the fire laſted, we thought that a million of Cannons had been thundering together, and our thoughts were upon nothing but death, thinking that the fire would laſt ſome days, becauſe of the great circumference of the Caſtle and Suburbs, but all this was done in leſs then four hours time, at the end of which, the noiſe growing leſs, we were curious to know whether the *Tartarians*, of whom we ſtood in no leſs fear then of the fire, were entred. They are a Warlike people, though they eat nothing but Roots, and ſuch other like ſubſtance, and drink onely Water. The greateſt Lords among them feed upon Fleſh baked between a Horſe and the Saddle, wherein rideth the Horſeman: nevertheleſs are they very ſtrong, luſty, and inured to all hardſhip, as alſo are their Horſes, who are wonderful ſwift, and will travel further in one day, eating nothing but Graſs, then ours will do in three feeding upon Oats; therefore the *Tartarians* come ſo eaſily from ſo far to invade the *Ruſſians*. They have alſo that craft, that they onely come in the Summer for the conveniency of their horſes; their Countrey is temperate, from whence they come about the latter end of *February*, that they may be in *Ruſſia* about the beginning of *June*, and go back again into their own countrey at the end of it, leaſt they

ſhould

ſhould be overtaken by the winter in *Ruſſia*, which if it ſhould fall out they would be all ſtarved becauſe of the great deſerts uninhabited, containing above Three hundred *German* leagues, and therefore void of all relief, as well for themſelves as for their horſes, there being then no graſs upon the ground, which conſtraineth them to make ſuch a journey, which is of above 1200 *German* leagues in four or five months time with all their Army, which conſiſteth commonly of about 150000 or 200000 horſes as good as can be, but the horſemen are but ſlightly armed, having for all weapons a jack of Mail, a Dart, and Bowe and Arrows, they know nothing of what belongeth to Guns, having in all their Countrey but Two Cities, wherein the Emperor keepeth his Court, without any Villages or Houſes, but are contented to live under Tents, which they remove to and fro as they ſee occaſion.

But to come again to our Miſery, after we had hearkened a while, we hard ſome *Ruſſians* running to and fro through the ſmoak, who were talking of walling the Gates to prevent the coming in of the *Tartarians*, who were expecting when the fire went out. I and my Interpreter being come out of the Magazine, found the Aſhes ſo hot that we durſt ſcarce tread upon them, but neceſſity compelling us we ran towards the chief Gate, where we found Twenty five or Thirty men eſcaped from the fire, with whom in few hours we did wall that Gate and the reſt,

and

and kept a ſtrict watch all that night with ſome Guns that had been preſerved from the fire. In the morning, ſeeing that the place was not defenſible with ſo few people as we were, we ſought the means to get into the Caſtle, whoſe entry was then inacceſſible; the Governour was very glad to hear of our intention, and cryed to us, we ſhould be very welcom, but it was a moſt difficult thing to come in, becauſe the Bridges were all burnt, ſo that we were fain to get over the wall, having inſtead of Ladders ſome high Firr-trees thrown from the Caſtle to us, wherein inſtead of rounds to get up, they had made ſome notches with a hatchet to keep us from ſliding: we got up then with much adoe; for beſides the evident inconveniency of thoſe rough Ladders, we did carry about us the ſum of 4000 Thalers, beſides ſome Jewels, which was a great hindrance to us to climb along thoſe high trees, and that which did double our fear was, that we ſaw before our eyes ſome of our company, that had nothing but their bodies to ſave, yet tumble down from the middle of thoſe high trees into the Ditch, full of burnt bodies, ſo that we could not tread but upon dead corpſes, whoſe heaps were ſo thick every where, that we could not avoid to tread upon them, as if it had been a hill to climb up, and that which did augment our trouble was, that in treading upon them, the Arms and Legs broke like Glaſs; the poor Limbs of theſe Creatures being calcined by the vehement heat of the fire, and our feet ſinking

ing into thoſe miſerable bodies, the bloud and the filth did ſquirt in our faces, which begot ſuch a ſtench all the Town over that it was impoſſible to ſubſiſt in it.

The 25th of *May* in the evening, as we expected in great perplexity what the *Tartarians* would attempt againſt us who were about Four hundred in the Caſtle: the *Tartarians* whom we had ſaluted with our Guns, and killed ſome of them that were come too neer one of the Caſtle-gates, began to go back the ſame way that they came in, with ſo much ſpeed, that the next morning all that torrent was drained up, for which having given God thanks and ſet our buſineſs in order, as well as the preſent calamity would permit, we went away from that deſolate place.

Now O *London*! conſider that thy Fate is not peculiar to thy ſelf, and that will allay the bitterneſs of thy ſufferings; Remember alſo, that if thou ſanctifieſt this affliction to thy uſe, the Lord promiſeth by his Prophet, *that thoſe ſhall reap in joy who did ſow in tears*, Pſal. 126. 6.

Ubi?

Where?

SECT. III.

IN the richeſt City of *Europe*, and perhaps of the world; the greateſt Magazine that could be found for all ſorts of Merchandiſes, incomparable for the ſalubritie of the Air, and conveniency of ſcituation; Magnificent in publique buildings; Illuſtrious in good deeds, Renowned for Hoſpitality, Famous for government, Venerable for antiquity; having ſubſiſted about Two thouſand years; inhabited by Citizens whoſe courage was equal to their fortunes; in a word, a City of which it might be ſaid more truly then of *Ormus*.

Si terrarum orbis quaqua patet annulus eſſet,
Londinum illius gemma decusque foret.

This circumſtance which we tread over ſo ſlightly, that we may not be ſuſpected of flattery, is not the leaſt that aggravateth the enormity of this accident, there is none of thoſe characters we have given it, but is very true, and might be the worthy employment of a better penn then mine, and the ſubject of a full volume.

Quibus

Quibus auxiliis?

By whose help?

SECT. IV.

HEre we must have recourse to what we have said before in the first Paragrapht, when we spoke of the second causes, and say that God hath made use chiefly of eight things to accomplish this work. The negligence of the Master or his Servants, in whose house the fire did first begin; the solitariness of the night, the narrowness of the place, the weakness of the buildings, the quantity of combustible and bituminous matters gathered thereabout, the preceding Summer which was extraordinarily hot and dry, the *East* wind that blew violently all that while, and the want of Engines and water to quench the fire; we shall give every one his little Section, to satisfie the curiosity of these, who inquire so much of the causes that have made this conflagration so violent, dismal and irremediable.

I. Though there be some accidents which no humane prudence can prevent; as when a man either in his own house, or going through the street, is crashed by a sudden ruine; nevertheless the Philosophers are not to blame, when they say that

every one may be the author of his own fortune, for it is certain, that if a man neglecteth or forsaketh that providence given him by nature, he doth together forsake the instrument and the means which his good genius maketh use of to make him avoid the ill accidents that may befall him, for as our soul doth only act by the Organs of our body, so our Genius either good or bad cannot act but by the means of our soul; now if our soul enjoyeth a sound and temperate body, and doth her functions with purity and facility; that Genius which is always neer hand, and as it were whispering at our ear, doth move and stirr her to the preservation of whatsoever belongeth or concerneth her: if on the contrary, this soul inhabiteth a body dyscratiated, melanchollick, full of obstructions, or drowned in the excesses of eating and drinking, or passions, its nature being igneous, and never ceasing from action; it necessarily followeth, that according to the disposition of the Organes, she turneth to the wrong way and neglecteth those things wherein she is meerly concerned. Now in things that might be prevented or remedied, it is an invalid excuse to say, I would never have thought that such thing should happen. For who can attribute it to a meer accident to put fire in an Oven, and to leave quantity of dry wood, and some flitches of Bacon by it within the sphære of its activity, and so go to bed, in leaving his providence with his slippers.

I remember that some 36 years ago, in a Town of *Brie*, a Province of *France*, called *Sezane*, upon a Sunday morning, a Woman that kept a Chandlers shop having occasion to snuff a Candle, threw the snuff into a corner of her shop among some old rags and papers, and so shutting the door went to *Mass*, but within the space of half an hour, and before she could come back again, not only her house, but those of her Neighbours were all in a flame, which being helped by an East-wind which blew at that time, and which is the most dangerous of all the Winds for Incendies, (as we shall shew hereafter) did in the space of a day and a night consume the whole Town, consisting of about four hundred houses. Can this be called a meer accident, since there is no body so void of common sense but might have either foreseen, or prevented so calamitous a consequence?

II. The second cause of this misfortune is the time wherein it did happen, to wit, about one of the clock in the night, when every one is buried in his first sleep; when some for weariness, others by deboistness, have given leave to their cares to retire; when slothfulness and the heat of the bed have riveted a man to his Pillow, and made him almost incapable of waking, much less of acting and helping his Neighbours.

III. The narrowness of the place did also much contribute

contribute to this Conflagration, for the Street where it did happen, as alſo moſt of thoſe about it, were the narroweſt of the City, inſomuch that in ſome a Cart could ſcarce go along, and in others not at all. The danger I did once run of my life thereabouts by the crowd of Carts, hath cauſed me many times to make reflexion on the covetouſneſs of the Citizens, and connivency of Magiſtrates, who have ſuffered them from time to time to encroach upon the ſtreets, and ſo to jet the top of their houſes, ſo as from one ſide of the ſtreet to touch the other, which as it doth facilitate a conflagration, ſo doth it alſo hinder the remedy, and beſides taketh away the liberty of the air, making it unwholeſome, and diſfigureth the Beauty and Symmetry of the City. I hope that for the future his Majeſty, his Councel, and that of the City, will take care that ſuch diſorder happen no more, and will cauſe this City to be as commodious in its Buildings, as it is happy in its Scituation.

IV. Now followeth the weakneſs of the buildings, which were almoſt all of wood, which by age was grown as dry as a chip: This inconvenient will eaſily be remedied, in building the houſes with Stone or Brick, according to the Statutes and Ordinances of Parliament provided and Enacted long ago in that behalf, though for the moſt part ill obſerved.

V. The quantity of combuſtible and bituminous matter

matter hath given the greateſt encouragement to this devouring Fire; for as the place where the fire begun was not far from the *Thames*, and from thoſe Wharfes where moſt Merchandiſes are landed, ſo *Thames-ſtreet*, and others thereabout, were almoſt nothing elſe but Magazines of combuſtible and ſulphurous Merchandiſes: Thereabout were a prodigious quantity of Oyl, Butter, Brandy, Pitch, Brimſtone, Saltpeter, Cables, *&c.* and by the *Thames* ſide were almoſt all Wharfes full of Coals and Wood. Now as fire of it ſelf is nothing but light which corporifieth it ſelf in the matter, and acteth more or leſs according to the diſpoſition of it, as we ſee that a fire of Straw is leſs violent than that of Coals; it followeth that this fire having lighted upon theſe ſulphureous and bituminous matters, did feed upon them as in his proper Element, and not only devoured them with eaſe, but imparts to the next combuſtible matters a diſpoſition more fitting and apt to receive him. The Nature of this ſulphureous fire was evidently ſeen in the melting of Bells, Iron, Pots, Glaſſes, and other metallique things, and in the calcining of ſtones and bricks, which no other ſingle fire of wood, coals, or other vulgar matter could have done. I remember that ſome four or five years ago the Lightning fell in *Herefordſhire* without doing any harm in the Country, but being extinguiſhed of it ſelf, the exhalation of it did mix it ſelf with a ſtrong Weſterly wind, that came as far as *London*, beating down houſes, plucking up trees by the

the roots; and to ſhew its nitrous and ſulphureous Nature, did as it were neglect to touch wood, but did chiefly ſtick upon metal, and either broke or bended it; the tokens of it are ſeen to this day upon the Steeples of *Bowchurch*, St. *Andrew*, St. *Giles Cripplegate*, the *May-Pole*, and other places. Theſe ſulphureous matters were alſo the cauſe of another inconveniency, which is, that the fire being corporified in them, did extend the ſphære of his activity at a further diſtance then ordinary, and caſt his burning beams furtheſt off, mixing more exactly his Atomes in the Air, which he turneth almoſt into his own Nature, which was the cauſe that no body could come neerer that fire then a hundred or two hundred paces.

VI. The foregoing Summer that was extraordinarily hot and dry, had alſo diſpoſed the matter of the buildings to admit the fire more quickly and eaſily, by ſucking not only the intrinſecal moiſture that was in them, but alſo that of the Air which might have moiſtned them; for though there be no rain falling, nevertheleſs there is a certain evapouriſh moiſture in the Air, which if it be not dried up, doth moiſten all porous things intrinſecally, and doth condenſe it ſelf upon the ſolid ones, in the form of an Oleaginous moiſture, as doth appear upon Marbles and Glaſſes.

VII. In cometh now the Eaſt-wind to play his part in this Tragedy. That unfortunate wind, of which

which it is commonly ſaid, that it is neither good for man nor beaſt, did blow with ſuch a wonderful fierceneſs all the time of the conflagration, that it did not only quicken the fire, as Bellows do the Furnaces, but alſo getting into the ſtreets, and among the houſes, when it found any let or hinderance that did recoil it back, it blew equally both to the right and to the left, and cauſed the fire to burn on all ſides, which hath perſwaded many that this fire was miraculous: I my ſelf remember, that going into ſome ſtreets at that time, and having the wind impetuouſly in my face, I was in hope that at my return I ſhould have it in my back, but it was all one, for the reaſon aforeſaid. It would be here too tedious to ſpeak of the nature of winds, and to ſhew many reaſons why this wind is ſo dry in *England*, as to burn the flowers and leafs of the trees, more then the hotteſt Sun can do; one which I think ſatisfactory will ſerve for all: It is therefore to be obſerved, that winds do not only participate of the nature of the places where they are begot, but alſo of that of the Countries thorough which they paſs: Now all the *Southern*, *Weſtern*, and *Northern* winds, muſt paſs thorough the great Ocean to come into *England*, in which paſſage there mixes with them abundance of vapours which cauſe their moiſture, except the *North*-wind, wherein the moiſture is condenſed by the cold; but the *Eaſt*-wind to come to us muſt paſs over the greateſt Continent of the world, *France*, *Germany*, *Hungary*, *Greece*, *Perſia*, *&c.* even to *China*; ſo that in peruſing ſuch a tract of Land, it not only droppeth

down by the way his moist Effluviums, the earth as it were sucking them for its irroration, but also carrieth along all the hot and dry exhalations that perpetually arise out of the earth, which is the cause of his dry and burning quality. I had formerly a little Garden, where I did bestow as much pains and cares as I could, to bring up some young Fruit-trees that were in't, having the advantage of a very good mould, but being seated *Eastward* and closed narrowly by a Brick-wall on either side; this wind that raigneth constantly here in *England* in the moneths of *March*, *April* and beginning of *May*, did in their budding so burn the leaves and the flowers, that the hottest Sun could not do the like, so that I was fain to give it over, having been two or three years before I could understand that mystery, and the nature of that wind in this countrey, for there is some other countreys where this wind is salubrious and fruitful enough.

VIII. It was also a great contributing to this misfortune, that the *Thames* Water-house was out of order, so that the Conduits and Pipes were almost all dry; as also that the Engines had no liberty to play, for the narrowness of the place and crowd of the people, but some of them were tumbled down in the river, and among the rest, that of *Clearken-well*, esteemed one of the best.

And thus courteous Reader, thou seest an admirable concurrence of several causes, for the putting of Gods will in execution, in other Cities that are not subject to conflagrations, as *Paris*, which is all built of Free-stone, the innundations have several times played

played their pranks; other Towns, as in *Italy* that think themselves exempted from fire and water, come to their periods by fearful Earthquakes; others that escape Fire, Water and Earth, do perish by the Meteors of the Air, and are calcined by the Lightening; so that God Almighty never wanteth instruments to compass his will; and it seemeth that the four Elements, of which this world is compounded, do conspire against the happiness and quietness of man, when by their daily prevarications they go about to confirm the disobedience of our first Parents.

Cur?

Why?

SECT. V.

HEre it is that we must wholly stoop and humble our selves under the mighty hand of God, and answer with the Apostle, *O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God, how unsearchable are his judgements, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his Counsellor?* Rom. 11. 33. let it suffice thee O man to know, that whether he hath done it to punish thee for thy sins, or to try thy Faith and exercise thy Patience; if thou canst make benefit of this affliction, and sanctify it to thy use; We know that all things work together for good, to them that love God.

Quomodo?

Quomodo?
How?
SECT. VI.

THis circumstance is answered by the Contents of the fourth.

Quando?
When?
SECT VII.

WHen we were newly come out of a Civil war of 20 years standing, where it is thought above 100000 people did perish.

When the Plague had the year before swept away above 100000 people, and was still raging.

When the Kingdom was exhausted of Money, and Trade lost.

When we had wars with *France*, *Denmark* and *Holland*, and not without fear of divisions among our selves.

Then even then came this dreadful Fire, after the aggregation of so many Judgements before, (like *Jobs* comforter) after his unwelcom messengers) but then, even then did our seeming utter destruction appear, but by our Heavenly Fathers paternal corrections, and by his mercy we are rescued from our fears by peace and quietness, both at home and abroad, restored to the hopes of a flourishing Nation, and the most Glorious City of the world.

Crescit sub pondere virtus.

FINIS.

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